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ABSTRACT

This report provides the Pacific American perspective on the current problems and future prospects of Asian and Pacific American relations in the context of Federal assistance. The report is divided into three parts. The first emphasizes the long history of contact between Asians and Pacific Islanders in the Pacific. This history, it is argued, has partly shaped the way Pacific Americans view Asian Americans in the United States today. Part I also briefly describes the migration process as experienced by the majority of Pacific migrants, who were mainly Polynesians and Micronesians. Part II outlines some of the contemporary issues in more detail, and describes the way in which Pacific Americans have attempted to overcome barriers to greater participation in the health, education and employment fields. Part III focuses on the origin of the term "Asian Pacific American," the degree of ambiguity in using such a term, and the resulting disadvantages for the Pacific American community. This section is based partly on the results of several community meetings held to discuss Asian Pacific American relations. Finally, the report recommends (1) a change of the existing classification to two separate ones--"Asian American" and "Pacific American"; (2) that a standard Federal definition of "Pacific American" be adopted, and that it be limited to people of Micronesian, Melanesian, or Polynesian racial and cultural origins; and (3) broader-based support for the upward mobility of all Asian and Pacific Americans, perhaps through a national conference and the creation of professional associations and integrated leadership training programs. (Author/KH)

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ASIAN AMERICAN - PACIFIC AMERICAN RELATIONS: THE PACIFIC AMERICAN PERSPECTIVE

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ASIAN AMERICAN AND PACIFIC AMERICAN RELATIONS: THREE STUDIES

By

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Introduction.

This report provides the Pacific American perspective on the current dilemma and future prospects of Asian and Pacific American relations in the context of federal assistance. It is part of a study conducted by the Association for Asian Pacific American Studies, University of Washington, on the historical and current relationships existing among Asian and Pacific Americans, through a grant from the U.S. Department of Education.

The report is divided into three parts. The first part emphasizes the long history of contact between Asians and Pacific Islanders in the Pacific. This history has partly shaped the way Pacific Americans view Asian Americans in the United States today. Part I also briefly describes the migration process. The majority of migrants who have come to live in the United States originated from Polynesia or Micronesia. They share many things in common, including a distinct social, cultural, and value system, and the reason for migration. Many of them have retained their culture and system of values as an aid in adaptation. As a high risk group they face many barriers in obtaining human services, the most important of which is a lack of identity. For this and other reasons there has been a growth in number of Pan-Pacific American organizations in the last few years.

Part II outlines some of the contemporary issues in more detail, and describes the way in which Pacific Americans have attempted to overcome barriers to greater participation in the health, education, and employment field.

The information contained in Parts I and II provides the background for Part III which focuses on the origin of the term "Asian Pacific American," the degree of ambiguity in using such a term, and the resulting disadvantages for the Pacific American community. This section of the report is partly based on the results of several community meetings held to discuss Asian Pacific American relations. Many Pacific Americans see their future in program development and delivery of services in terms of a separate and distinct political entity. Continued use of the present term "Asian Pacific American" will mean a total loss of Pacific American identity.

This report recommends a change of the existing classification to two separate ones--"Asian American" and "Pacific American." The change will express more precisely and accurately the particular contemporary status, needs, and interests of each group. A standard federal definition of "Pacific American" should also be adopted, and it should be limited to people of Micronesian, Melanesian, or Polynesian racial and cultural origins. The report also recommends a broadening of the base of support for the upward mobility of all Asian and Pacific Americans, perhaps through a national conference and the creation of professional associations and integrated leadership training programs.

I. History and Culture.

The Migration Process--The Pre-contact and Post-contact Phases:[1] Recent archaeological evidence indicates that the people who first settled in the Pacific came from the direction of Southeast Asia, probably about 50,000 years ago. Since then, there has been a great deal of movement of people throughout the Pacific, from the smaller to the larger islands or to islands with more resources, and more recently, to metropolitan centers such as Auckland, Sydney, Honolulu, and Los Angeles.

European settlement in the Pacific Islands began about 400 years ago, and while their influence has been dominant throughout the ensuing years, relatively few Europeans came to stay permanently. More Asians than Europeans have settled in the islands during the last 100 years. Beginning in the late 18th century, many Chinese were imported for labor in Oceania. They spread throughout the Pacific, and many eventually set up small trade stores on nearly every major island. In places like Fiji, New Guinea, Hawaii, and French Polynesia the Chinese dominated many areas of commerce such as vegetable gardening and merchandising. There was some intermarriage between the Chinese and Pacific Islanders, but in general the Chinese and indigeneous inhabitants lived in socially and culturally seprrate worlds.

Other Asians who settled in the Pacific were more localized, and like the Chinese, soon began to outnumber the indigeneous population. In the case of Hawaii, for example, the native population was no longer numerically dominant by the early part of this century having been surpassed by the Japanese, Filipinos, Chinese, Koreans, and Caucasians. Filipino soldiers and colonists were introduced by the Spanish to Guam in the late 18th century, while many Indochinese and Koreans settled in New Caledonia. The Japanese involvement in Oceania during the Second World War is well-known. What may not be so well known is the influence Japan had on the Marshalls, the Carolines, and the Marianas soon after World War I when it was handed over the administration of these islands as a result of a Peace Conference. Thousands of Japanese, Koreans, and Okinawans immigrated to these islands and eventually outnumbered the indigeneous people and dominated the local economy.

The Pacific may be divided into three major culture areas--Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia. The major islands within the Polynesian group

are Tonga, American Samoa, Western Samoa, the Cook Islands, Niue, Ellice, and Tokelau. Micronesia consists of a series of small islands in the northern Pacific, the main ones being the Gilberts, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Caroline Islands, the Mariana Islands, and Guam. Unlike the other two culture areas, Melanesia is much more diverse in terms of terrain and people. The main components of Melanesia are Fiji, New Guinea, the New Hebrides, Solomon Islands, and New Caledonia.

As previously stated, all three culture areas share an extensive period of contact with European and Asian peoples. Although this contact has brought substantial changes, aspects of indigeneous culture still persist and are very much alive today. A good example of this persistence is found in Guam where for centuries the island was inundated with immigrants, first from Spain, and later from Japan and the United States. The native population was reduced from about 100,000 at the time of the first European contact to about 1,600 at the beginning of the 19th century. Yet a Guamanian culture and the Chamorro language still exist in Guam and wherever Chamorros have migrated to. The same applies to Samoa, Tonga, and Hawaii, the three other sources of Pacific Island migration to the United States that are of concern in this paper.

Although there are marked social contrasts between and even within cultural regions, Polynesia and Micronesia differ from Melanesia in at least two important ways. Firstly, Polynesia and Micronesia share a system of stratification which is quite different from Melanesia. Unlike Melanesia, social classes and the hierarchical system of chieftainship are considered very important in Polynesia and Micronesia. The status of a Polynesian or Micronesian is generally determined at birth. An individual has political power because he was born a chief, and from this he derives control over the economy. By contrast, in Melanesia, like the American

system, the relationship between political and economic power is usually reversed. An ambitious person successfully engages in economic activity first before he gains political power.

Another basic difference is the much greater amount of marketable natural resources available in Melanesia than in either Polynesia or Micronesia.

The above differences may partly explain why it is difficult for a Polynesian or Micronesian to adapt to a capitalist economy or the American political system, and why there is significant out-migration from certain areas in Polynesia and Micronesia to other parts of the Pacific and to the United States.

The Migration Process--The Contemporary Period: The migration process is not new to the peoples of the Pacific. They have a long tradition of voyaging, traveling back and forth across vast stretches of ocean from island to island. Although many Pacific Islanders continue to live in rural isolated areas, practicing subsistence or commercial agriculture and devoting some time to using the resources of the sea as their ancestors used to many years ago, increasing numbers are moving to the urban centers in search of wage employment and a modern way of life. Currently, there is a great deal of migration, from outer island and village to urban center, and from urban center to Hawaii, Australia, New Zealand, and the American mainland.

Freedom of travel from the U.S. trust territories and American Samoa to the United States has facilitated the out-migration of large numbers to Hawaii and the American mainland. The American Samoan case is typical.

Close contact with Navy personnel for half a century, and with thousands of American troops during the Second World War, was followed by a period of mass migration of American Samoans to Hawaii and the mainland.

Today, more Samoans can be found in California alone than on the islands.

Tongans, native Hawaiians, Western Samoans, and Guamanians have also been migrating to the United States and particularly to California since the late 1960s. They come for many reasons, but the most important reason is to take advantage of the educational and employment opportunities available on the American mainland. Overpopulation and depletion of natural resources on the islands are other reasons for migration. The following map shows the principal Samoan migrant locations and the pattern of migration.

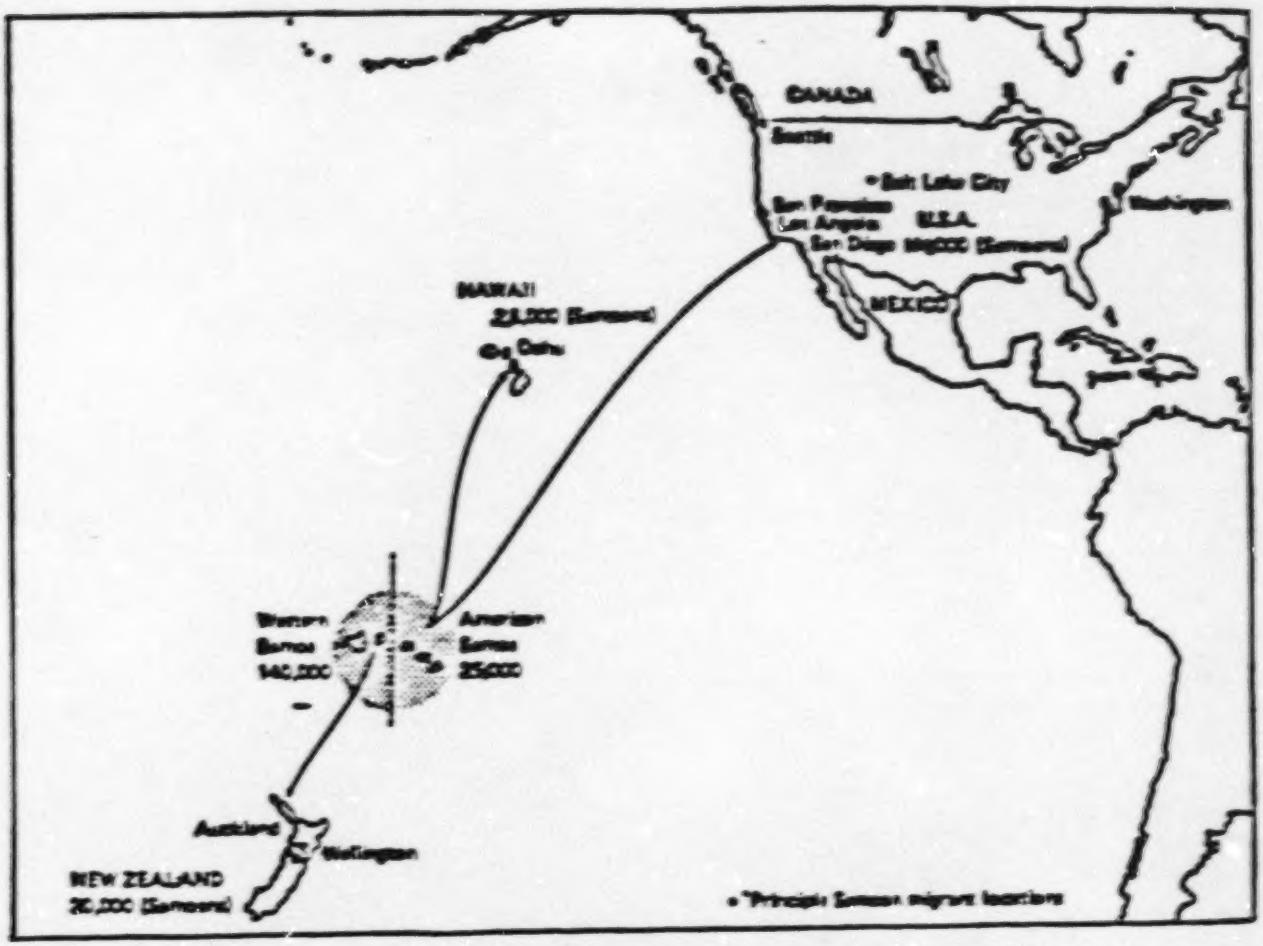
The Polynesian pattern of migration is based on the extended family network and is a pattern followed by most Pacific Americans entering the United States for the first time. New arrivals are assisted by family members already established in the new urban environment. They are provided with a place to live and assistance in finding a job.

Tongans, Western Samoans, Fijians, and other Pacific Islanders who come under the quota system adopt this strategy also. As Dee Arntz points out in her study of Tongan immigrants in the United States, there are about 500 Tongans entering the United States each year. A large proportion of new arrivals are brothers and sisters of citizens and their spouses and children.[2]

Settlement Patterns and Cultural Adaptation Variations: Pacific peoples are concentrated in the urban centers of the West Coast. For example, in the San Francisco Bay Area, the largest group of Pacific Americans are the American Samoans who number some 25,000; this is followed by 8,000 to 9,000 Tongans, 8,000 Guamanians, and 7,000 Hawaiians.[3] Most are found in South San Francisco, Daly City, Bayview-Hunter's Point, San Mateo, the San Jose-Santa Clara County area, and Hayward.

Principal Samoan Migrant Locations

and the Pattern of Migration



Large concentrations of Pacific Americans are also found in the Greater Los Angeles Basin area--Carson City, Torrance, Wilmington, Lomita, San Pedro, and Long Beach, or a total estimated population of 65,000. Orange County contains a large population of Samoans, especially in Santa Ana, Garden Grove, Westminster, Anaheim, and El Toro. There are approximately 30,000 Samoans and Chamorros living in the San Diego area. The largest concentration is located in National City and Oceanside, followed by San Diego proper, North, and South San Diego. Other states to which Pacific Americans have migrated include Hawaii, Washington, Nevada, Mississippi, and Washington D.C.

As previously mentioned, three of the four major Pacific American groups residing in the United States migrated or can trace descendents who migrated from the culture area known as Polynesia. "Polynesia" summarizes a variety of background experiences which members of this culture group are likely to share. They have developed distinct behavioral patterns to cope with the problems of daily life in a relatively new environment.

One of the largest representative groups of Polynesians in the United States is Samoan. A Samoan coming to the United States from the Pacific Islands finds himself in a unique situation. He is not an easily distinguishable minority and is often mistaken as being a member of whatever other minorities his physical characteristics best lend themselves to in any given set of circumstances. He is now one of a million other immigrants trying to "make it" in this country; like they, he usually arrives with many handicaps that forestall immediate integration into the social, political, and economic mainstream. However, he is finding that many of his own traditions and values can be a source of strength and direction in coping with the various problems of adjusting to a new environment. The family, the church, family unity, and cultural pride are aspects of the

Concentration of Native American Samoans in California

Samoan cultural and value system which aid in the system of adaptation. The following description of the Samoan cultural and value system as a system of adaptation applies equally well to the other Polynesian migrants, and, to a lesser extent, the Chamorros from Micronesia.

The Samoan way of life is structured around a social system of clans, or extended families, known as "aiga." Each family has its own chief or "matai" who is the head of the household. He makes all of the major decisions and has the responsibility of protecting and guiding the family.

The family is extremely important in Samoan society and is at the center of its social and economic life. The household has a well-established hierarchy in which each individual's behavior is determined by his or her ranking and obligations to the others. This, in turn, is determined by age or sex, as well as chiefly titles. The females are subordinate to the males, and the young always defer to the old. The young and old share a very special relationship based on the Samoan belief that their elders can offer great wisdom and experience. Thus, they are treated with great respect and consideration.

This careful differentiation is useful for large households where an average of six to ten persons may be living under one roof. The number of family members is fluid, as various relatives stay for a time and then leave. Unlike the American nuclear family consisting of only parents and their children, the Samoan concept of sharing makes it acceptable for children to leave home for indefinite visits with uncles and aunts or married brothers and sisters.

The "aiga" remains strong today, but the demands of establishing a household in a new country have influenced it in several ways. For example, although feelings of family responsibility prevail, problems can arise when an elderly person or additional relatives join the household.

This can result in overcrowding and higher household expenses. However, the value of family responsibility is still important and many Samoans have found ways of assisting new migrants as they prepare to establish themselves in a new country.

Cooperation and interdependence are synonymous with traditional Samoan values that can be essential for a family coping with the myriad problems of migration--finding work, learning a new language and culture, and establishing a household. Although the roles of women have changed somewhat-low-paying jobs and the high cost of housing often make it necessary for all adults to work outside of the home--family members still pool together their energies and resources.

From childhood, a Samoan is taught to value a humanistic rather than a competitive approach to life. Indeed, the culture is based on mutual sharing. A Samoan may request food, clothing, shelter, or other assistance from a relative; to refuse that request is considered a violation of another Samoan value, kindness, which is regarded as the highest value.

Samoans living in the United States soon learn that they must fend for themselves and find a balance between sharing and survival. Some cease to consider the matai's words as law in a country that has a far more complicated system of do's and don'ts. Thus attempts to transplant the matai hierarchy into American society has proved somewhat ineffective because the social systems are so different. Nonetheless, this social structure still plays an important part in Samoan life, and there is a Samoan Chiefs Council of America made up exclusively of matais. These traditional leaders often get together to discuss ways in which they can continue to serve their communities in this new environmental setting.

An equally important source of Samoan values which has been successfully transplanted into their new country is the Samoan church, which has always played a key role in preserving the Samoan way of life.

The majority of Samoans are members of the Christian Congregational Church. For immigrants just arriving in the United States, the church's American counterpart, which still conducts its services in the Samoan language, has played a key role in providing cultural continuity and assisting new arrivals in establishing themselves in their new country.

In fact, the church has assumed many of the social functions that previously had been performed by the village. Like a village community in Samoa, the church-based communities in the United States sponsor luaus, host visiting groups, and organize social activities, as well as perform funeral and wedding rites. They are an important source of new friends and provide a familiar environment for the new immigrant. These churches also play a vital role in helping the new arrivals find jobs and housing.

In Los Angeles County alone there are 55 Samoan churches. These various congregations maintain close contact and often cooperate with each other.

Another tratitional concept which Samoans have brought with them to the United States is the fa'a aiga, or family unity process. This is used to solve problems which arise between family members or members within the community.

Centuries of self-sufficiency on the islands have instilled in the Samoans a sense of confidence and optimism. However, the problems that Samoan immigrants face when settling in the United States strongly test this optimism and confidence. But Samoans are finding that their cultural values--particularly those of sharing, cooperation, and interdependence--are a vital source of strength in coping with this adjustment.[4]

The Samoan funeral and the Tongan funeral are good examples of how the traditional elements of Polynesian culture are strengthened in the new environment. The funeral reinforces the social and economic security of relatives, friends, individuals, and the community. Ties of ethnicity, family, and church also assist in adaptation. Church membership unites large numbers of people for ritual and social activities, and the extended family has not only maintained many of its traditional helping functions for the individual but has also added new ones.[5]

Samoans, like other Polynesians, have a strong dependency on kin and peer reliant strategies. In kin reliance, the individual typically calls on the resources of the wider circle of relatives beyond the nuclear family. To be effective, kin reliance requires the presence of large numbers of relatives with access to a variety of resources. In peer reliance, the individual turns to persons of roughly the same age and social standing. A wide circle of people with different skills and access to a variety of resources are required in order for this strategy to be effective.[6]

Although Pacific Americans tend to draw upon resources from all three strategies described above at different times and for different purposes, they can usually be characterized by the predominant resource center to which they turn. However, geographical location may affect the choice and use of strategies. In Seattle, for example, Samoans are not as visible as in other areas and are able to choose a variety of strategies in the process of adaptation. In Hawaii, by contrast, they are more visible and in direct and open competition with other groups. Hawaii's Samoans seem to be more politically recognized as a group and are receiving more federal and state assistance than Samoans on the American mainland.[7]

All Pacific American migrants to the United States bring with them a composite culture, an integrated whole, which has developed for centuries

in the islands. Although Pacific Americans are becoming more westernized in some respects, the differences between the Pacific and the American way of life are great. The central values of Pacific cultures include conformity, cooperation, acceptance of group decision, strong identification with family and community, a Christian ideology, and courtesy in interpersonal interactions. Individual gain, personal praise, and all forms of competitiveness are avoided in interpersonal interactions. This system of values has helped some migrants to adapt successfully to life in the United States, at least during the early stages of migration.[8] Economic stagnation, inflation, and the secular nature of American society are making new demands on the culture and system of values and are beginning to diminish its influence and importance as a means of adaptation.

Ethnic Relations. In general, ethnic minority group relations are characterized by conflict and cooperation. This is true for Pacific Americans in their interaction with each other and with non-Pacific Americans. But unlike many other groups of people, there is relatively more cooperation and less rivalry among Pacific Islanders, mainly because their traditional social arrangements help to reduce the possibility of competition between people and prevent complete domination of one group by another.

Samoan Americans appear to be one of the most organized of the Pacific American groups. For example, a recent U.S. Department of Health and Human Services-sponsored survey indicates that the majority of Samoan American migrants are members of Samoan neighborhood and community organizations.[9] These organizations are often linked with Pacific American organizations which extend beyond the neighborhood and the community.

The most fragmented Pacific American group appears to be the Tongans who are also one of the more recent Pacific American migrants to this country. As in Tonga, many religious denominations are represented on the

West Coast and this sometimes leads to competition and conflict. In the community today, there are eight churches. The largest by far is the Mormon church. The Mormon group tends to be fairly unified and meets about once a month. The Free Wesleyan Methodists are the second largest denomination representing about 20 percent of the population in three churches with another in the process of formation.

The Free Tongan Methodists are next in size and belong to two churches. The balance of the Tongans are Catholics scattered in various parishes, and like the Mormons they are organized in a unified group. There are also a few members of the Bahai faith, the Church of England, Seventh Day Adventists, and the American United Methodist Church.

All persons belong, at least nominally, to a religious denomination and many are regular church goers attending at least twice a week. At the same time, everyone is a member of a family. The resulting framework is a strong one, but one that is inherently unstable. As long as the extended families link the churches, and they themselves remain unified, the community is integrated and socially cohesive. Unlike the Samoan American community, there are few community organizations which serve to unite Tongans living in California, although community rituals and a common cultural heritage may serve the same function. In terms of organizational development and cohesiveness, the remaining Pacific American groups lie somewhere in between the Samoan and Tongan examples.

Tongans are Polynesians, closely linked in language and culture to the Samoans. However, Tongans must compete with Samoans, and other Pacific Americans who have preceded them to the mainland. Although no overt conflict has developed and there are no current tensions in the Tongan-Samoan relationship, a degree of social distance has developed bet-between the two groups.[10]

With respect to intra-ethnic relations on a day-to-day basis, the majority of Pacific Americans prefer members of their own kinship and ethnic group for all types of social activities. Shared customs and traditions and a similar language are the main reasons for their preference. Of course, there are variations to this pattern, influenced in part by socioeconomic conditions. Lydia Kotchek, for instance, finds three main social adaptations among Samoan American migrants to Seattle. These are: (1) Fa'aSamoa groups with a religious and kin base; (2) a Pan-Samoan union; and (3) isolates who find their social connections in the larger society.[11]

In general, however, the basic choice for Pacific American migrants is between drawing one's friendship from within one's own kinship and ethnic group, or interacting primarily with non-Pacific Americans on an individual basis. With the exception of the more educated and more professional groups, the majority of Pacific Americans prefer the former and consequently few opportunities exist for intra-ethnic relations to develop.

II. Contemporary Issues

Status and Treatment in American Society: As previously mentioned, most Pacific Americans have unrestricted access to the United States and are not subject to the quota system that has been imposed on other Asian-Pacific groups.[12] Furthermore, there is a trust relationship existing between the United States Government and these Pacific Americans. American Samoans, for example, are accorded the status of "American Nationals" with fundamental personal rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Large numbers of American Samoans, Hawaiians, and Chamorros have served the United States in past wars and continue to serve in all branches of the armed forces today. However, these historical considerations seem to have no influence on the way the host community treats Pacific Americans. Pacific Americans, for example, are ineligible for participation in some

federal programs such as Public Law 95-507. The latter is intended to afford socially and economically disadvantaged groups the opportunity to participate in performance of contracts let by any federal agency. As presently defined, "socially and economically disadvantaged" groups include only Black, Hispanic, and Native Americans.

Until the 1960s, the dominant view was that the United States was moving towards greater cultural homogeneity and that minority groups were gradually being assimilated into the larger society. This is not the case today. The emergence of ethnic militancy and the realities of racism contributed to the development of a more accurate perspective of what contemporary American society is like. The belief that an individual's personal identity is dependent on ethnic identity has gained wide appeal, and is in keeping with the aspirations of ethnic groups and with some manifestation of official policy. However, the commitment to cultural pluralism is sometimes promoted at a level which ignores structural implications—which ethnic group are we talking about, what kind of problems are they facing, what do they want, and what is their place in society? The application of cultural pluralism in America today favors some groups while ignoring others. As R.P. Wolf in The Poverty of Liberalism points out, "The application of the theory of pluralism always favours the groups in existence against those in the process of formation."

The attitude of the dominant urban society towards Pacific Americans, one of the few remaining groups in the process of formation, varies from complete rejection to complete acceptance. The predominant attitude is one of indifference. In terms of social services, immigration issues, education, and the like, Pacific Americans are faced with many problems which can be traced to the insensitivity of the host community and government to Pacific American culture and background. Indeed, one of the most

flagrant examples of discrimination and violation of Pacific American civil rights is the failure to provide adequate social and human services to those who need them. Service agencies make no provision for Pacific American clients, and few are inclined to publicize their services to the Pacific American community.

In comparison to other ethnic groups, Pacific Americans are indeed a small population. However, they are in a subordinate socioeconomic position and have serious and continuing social and economic problems which are overlooked by bad government and non-government agencies as well as the private sector. Pacific Americans, for instance, rank at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder along with a few other minority groups. In almost every measure of development--health, education, housing, employment, and income--Pacific Americans fare very poorly when compared to the general population in the United States. For example, over half of the urban Samoan adult population lacks a high school education and one result of this is an unemployment rate that reaches as high as 80 percent among youth in some areas. They face enormous difficulties in finding and maintaining a job, partly because they come from a society that is non-technical, non-industrial, and non-competitive, and because they lack information on available resources.

Social Services, Education, and Federal Assistance: The wider society's lack of knowledge concerning Pacific Americans and their problems in finding suitable employment and training also serves to exclude the latter from meaningful employment, available services, and specific affirmative action programs. A recent Department of Health and Human Services-sponsored study of more than 200 urban Samoan families in California depicts some of these problems which apply to other Pacific Americans as well:

In section 5 of the report, the contractor concludes:

> The socioeconomic and demographic data collected by this research effort clearly suggest that American Samoans residing in the United States constitute a target population which faces severe constraints in attaining an acceptable standard of living and a satisfying lifestyle.[13]

Samoan Americans face severe constraints which may be summarized in terms of a combination of the contextual limitations they suffer from and the negative factors associated with their migrant status.

Contextual limitations or negative impacts include the following:

- large families
- median family income below average
- lack of formal education--basic skills training, vocational education, bilingual education, adult education, leadership training
- lack of knowledge about and access to human services delivery system, including alcoholism, drug abuse, and child abuse programs
- inappropriate job skills
- high unemployment rate

The above negative impacts are exacerbated by the following factors which are associated with the migrant status of Samoan Americans:

- language barrier
- cultural barrier
- absence of an integrated institutional superstructure

With respect to the effectiveness of human services delivery to Samoans, the MKGK report indicates that service providers have substantial problems in identifying and responding to the needs of the population. Furthermore, they have inadequate knowledge of Samoan culture, and the majority do not employ bilingual staff. Language difficulties, cultural differences, and

inadequate information on service availability are substantial barriers to services utilization.

All of the above barriers may be summarized under a single concept—the identity crisis of Pacific Americans. Pacific Americans are inadequately represented in services and government program areas because few decision-makers can readily identify Pacific Americans as a group of people urgently in need of services and programs. Pat Luce, Executive Director of the National Office of Samoan Affairs Inc., has recently pointed to the implications of this lack of identity for educational opportunities.[14]

In her address to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Luce argued that the lack of identity and recognition of Pacific Americans are at the forefront of problems faced by Pacific Americans. Multicultural education for Pacific Americans is nonexistent. In the entire State of California, there has not been a single, universal bilingual program for Samoan Americans. Bilingual curriculum centers and school districts which have been federally and state-funded to develop such programs have virtually ignored the needs of Pacific American students.

Many Pacific Americans have limited formal education and inadequate English language skills. One consequence of a confused educational system in the islands is a general inability to cope with the English language. As an oral-based culture, the transition to the written word in another language imposes overwhelming handicaps for presenting Pacific American needs to formal and informal agencies. Unable to effectively compete, the Pacific American population becomes an "invisible" minority known only by the negative stereotypes held by police and social agencies. Such stereotyping seriously hurts the collective and individual self-image of Samoans, Tongans, Hawaiians, and Chamorros and reinforces the need for the development of relevant multicultural and bilingual programs. To date, however,

very few Pacific American projects of any type have been funded by the federal, state, or local government or by foundations.[15]

Communal and Political Development: The problems faced by Pacific American migrants have profoundly influenced the development of local neighborhood organizations, churches, and Pan-Pacific organizations to help migrants adapt to the new urban environment, raise money, secure jobs, obtain further education, and act as a political pressure group. Participation in these organizations informally teaches migrants organizational skills, provides an avenue for the achievement of status and prestige that is denied to them within the host society, and reinforces cultural pride and ethnic identity.

A good example of the retention of ethnic identity is provided by the Samoan and Tongan funeral ceremony in the United States. The funeral ceremony reinforces the social and economic security of relations, friends, and the entire community. Funeral rites exemplify a blending of tradition and cultural modification or reorganization which helps to reinforce the individual's cultural and social identity.[16]

Joan Ablon's study of Samoan Americans in San Francisco highlights the positive image that Samoan Americans have of themselves. In almost every facet of urban life--employment, housing, education--the Samoan American community acts as a clearinghouse. Community members provide mutual aid to each other, and this has contributed to their early success at adaptation.[17]

At the organizational level, Pacific Americans are trying to overcome barriers to participation in health, education, employment, and other programs, and to increase the visibility of the Pacific American community so as to help eradicate current stereotypes which plague Pacific Americans and which discourage them from participating politically.

There exists a pool of talent in a number of voluntary, community-based organizations attempting to serve the various needs of the Pacific American community. These organizations have had to develop a piecemeal approach to meeting some of the most pressing and urgent needs of the migrant community. Many lack the ability to articulate community needs and to meet the requirements for obtaining program services. Nevertheless, a number of these voluntary agencies are coordinating their efforts to secure services and to tap the organizational talents and abilities of the various leaders in order to solve community problems. They are attempting to provide a variety of services to the Pacific American community and to develop and maintain a leadership position in helping create employment and better human services for all underprivileged urban Pacific Americans residing in the United States.

Several of the larger organizations are coordinating the activities of the smaller ethnic organizations, maintaining an overview of their needs and taking responsibility for advocacy and program creation whenever significant issues pertaining to the well-being and adjustment of Pacific Americans arise. They act as a central place where needs identified by the population can be expressed and where solutions can be explored.[18]

Pacific American leaders are beginning to realize the need for a concentrated support system, firstly, to coordinate and tap the existing resources in the various organizations and those existing in the wider society; and secondly, to develop the necessary skills and self-confidence of Pacific Americans in order to be less dependent and more self-reliant. They feel that the broad range of services required by the Pacific American community in such areas as education, health, and employment can be made more readily available through leadership training, advocacy, and

better coordination and collaborative efforts. Some of the above mentioned organizations have already taken significant steps in developing such a base.

After many years of struggle, Pacific Americans are beginning to see some light at the end of a long tunnel. As a result of solid organization at the national level, Pacific Americans are becoming more adept at building relationships with government and achieving their goals through the use of legislation. Pacific Americans have found that one of the most effective ways of doing this is to provide legislators with accurate information on a given issue. Their lack of visibility, the lack of programs for Pacific American migrants, and the need to build an institutional infrastructure or concentrated support system to more effectively influence mainstream policies, program perspectives, and practices are some of the issues that have been identified and presented.

Some of the above advocacy has paid off. Samoan Americans, Hawaiians, and Chamorros, for example, succeeded in having their groups enumerated in the 1980 census. This is seen by some as a first step in the competitive game of ethnic group politics. More recently, the congressional representative from American Samoa, responding to community pressure, introduced a Bill to ease the requirements for Samoan Americans to become U.S. citizens. The present law requires a six months residency for U.S. nationals within the state before filing a petition for naturalization. But, more importantly, testing requirements involving comprehensive testing of the English language, history, and civics of the United states has been the single greatest obstacle in obtaining citizenship.

All Samoans living in the United States have been educated in the American educational system and were raised to believe in the ideals of democracy and equality as clearly defined in the Constitution. Not

surprisingly, Samoan Americans are intimidated by the testing requirements and are insulted at being treated as if they were aliens. If the naturalization requirements are eased, Samoan Americans will be able to participate in greater numbers in local and federal elections and will have greater access to certain state and federal programs which are open only to citizens.

III. Asian-Pacific American Relations: The Pacific American Perspective.

Historical Context and Contemporary Situation: Asian Pacific Americans constitute one of the minority "groups" eligible to participate in various federal government programs. Most ethnic classifications such as "Hispanic" and "American Indian" are the results of efforts by an inter-agency committee to achieve uniformity in targeting federal programs for minorities. With respect to the term "Asian Pacific American" no one seems to know of its exact origin. Usage of the term probably originated at a meeting in 1973 where a group of specialists in the mental health field convened in Los Angeles, California, to advocate for greater minority group participation in all areas of mental health. As far as we know, this marks the first major occasion when Asian and Pacific American leaders worked together to ensure adequate program and resource development for their respective communities.

Although Pacific American participation was limited, there was representation from as far away as Hawaii and from the large Samoan community in the greater Los Angeles area. Joint resolutions were developed at the meeting and presented to key representatives of the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration (ADAMHA), indicating a joint effort of Asian and Pacific Americans.

Following the meeting in Los Angeles, an organization known as PAC, the Pacific Asian Coalition, was formed for the purpose of mobilizing the

various Asian and Pacific American communities to press for change. At this time, the Pacific American component in the organization was well represented by a Hawaiian, a Guamanian, and a Samoan delegate. But this did not prevent the specific concerns of Pacific Americans from being overshadowed by strictly Asian American issue. Gradually PAC developed into a totally Asian American-controlled organization as each Pacific American leader resigned to return to his or her own community to develop organizational strutures each felt would be more responsive to Pacific American needs.

One of the organizations to be formed in this way is the National Office of Samoan Affairs, a voluntary, non-profit community organization with offices in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego. NOSA was founded to help urban Native American Samoan community organizations work together to establish more effective relationships with service agencies and local government offices. Through this network, NOSA disseminated information on federal, state, and local issues that were of special significance to the community, provided regular leadership training workshops, provided community groups with the technical assistance they needed to deal with social issues, and facilitated and strengthened linkages and collaboration among various organizations.

In the meantime, PAC and the 1973 meeting of Asian and Pacific Americans in the mental health field served to build up the name and reputation of Asian and Pacific Americans as a distinct entity. The term has since been used, not only by ADAMHA, but by other agencies as a basis of federal funding and social policy.[19]

In spite of the lack of unity and cohesion experienced by Pacific Americans in PAC, Pacific Americans continue to work with Asian Americans in the mental health field. This area of activity has provided the most

opportunity for close contact between Asian and Pacific Americans, and also the most examples of advantages and disadvantages of close collaboration. At the organizational level, the Asian Pacific relationship may be identified in terms of the following types:

A. Participation in name only.

B. A greater degree of participation than Type A, but Pacific Americans are not well represented and have little or no decision-making powers.

C. Pacific Americans form their own organizations and from time to time may work with sensitive Asian American individuals and organizations on matters of mutual interest.

The first type of relationship (Type A) is the most common. Organizations like the Center for Pacific Asian Family and the Asian Pacific Counseling and Treatment Center, to name a few, are funded to provide services to both Asian and Pacific American clients. However, a cursory review of agency records indicated that no Pacific Americans are being served, nor are Pacific Americans represented at any level of the organization. Such a situation may create hardships for the Pacific American population and confusion over the term "Asian Pacific American." The problem is not limited to the mental health field but is widespread and can lead to a crisis in identity. As Dee Arntz, a non-Pacific American, points out in her study of the Tongan community in San Francisco:

> ...many Asians, for strategic purposes, consider all Pacific Islanders to be Asians, thus complicating the issue of identity. The Asian, for instance, apply for Federal grants for services and incorporate the Pacific Islander population to increase the dollar allocation. The Pacific Islanders maintain that they frequently are not served by these projects. These circumstances past and present, make the task of developing and/or selecting symbols or emblems to signal identity difficult.[20]

Pacific Americans are often overlooked or submerged by Asian Americans at conferences which are specifically aimed to include the concerns of both groups and which provide the foci for future activities. This is quite clear in the following program abstracts from the first National Conference on Minority Group Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health issues held in Denver, Colorado, in 1978.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MINORITY GROUP ALCOHOL, DRUG ABUSE, AND MENTAL HEALTH ISSUES
DENVER, COLORADO

TUESDAY, MAY 23, 1978

9:00 AM-10:15 AM	**FOCUS ON ISSUES** Workshops (continued)
10:15 AM-10:30 AM	**COFFEE BREAK**
10:30 AM-12:00 noon	**MINORITY NETWORKS**

Asian Americans ..... Assembly Room
Black Americans ..... Blue Room
Hispanic Americans ..... Curtis Caucus Room
American Indians ..... Zephyr Room

IV. MINORITY NETWORKS

Asian Americans, Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans, comprise the majority of America's racial minorities. The Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration has acknowledged that this segment of the population has concerns and problems which are often times overlooked or not considered when programs are developed or policy is established.

Type A relationships also apply to research supposedly being conducted among Asian and Pacific American populations. Examples abound in research journals which present data from surveys of individuals identified as "Asian Pacific American." The following statements have been taken from a recent report on visits to physicians by "Asian Pacific

Americans." They show how data on the Asian population are used to generalize about Pacific Americans, and suggest that misuse of the term "Asian Pacific American" can lead to misinterpretation of the data:

> Psychiatry is an unknown medical profession in traditional China and other Asian countries as well. As a result, few Asians and Pacific Islanders refer themselves to a psychiatrist.
>
> Significantly few visits were made by Asian and Pacific Americans to the office of a surgeon or a psychiatrist. A cultural resistance to the utilization of these two types of medical speciality as a result of the peculiar development of Asian medical systems is suggested.[21]

The above statements are not illogical if one considers all Pacific Americans to be Asians.

With respect to Type B, the second type of relationship at the organizational level, some degree of Pacific American participation is evident in the early stages, but inadequate representation of Pacific Americans can lead to dissatisfaction and finally breakaway and formation of a separate organization. Several examples from the mental health field will suffice to illustrate this type of relationship.

The first example occurred at the Second National Conference on Minority Group Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health issues held in Albuquerque, New Mexico, in October 1979. At the time, the Pacific American community was represented by two Pacific American leaders and they met with the ADAMHA administrator and Asian American delegates at a special meeting to begin discussion on the specific needs of Asian and Pacific Americans.

A Planning Committee was established to organize and plan for a consultation meeting that was going to be held in Washington D.C. a few months later. The Pacific delegates met with the planning committee on several occasions to stress the importance of including representatives from each of the major Pacific American groups--Chamorro, Hawaiian, Samoan, and

Tongan, at the consultation meeting. They were unsuccessful and only two Pacific American representatives, out of a total of 12 positions, were selected to go to Washington to advocate on health issues of Asian and Pacific Americans.

The second example comes from the state level where Pacific Americans have also been cooperating with other minority groups to advocate for more adequate and relevant health delivery services. This time, however, the Pacific Americans did not wait to express their dissatisfaction with their lack of representation in multicultural organizations. In the end, they were able to achieve some parity with Asians, Blacks, American Indians, and Chicanos. Counting the Hawaiian delegates, fully one-third of the state's Monitoring Action Committee, the committee that advocates and monitors minority mental health issues, was made up of Pacific Americans. Unfortunately, the Monitoring Action Committee was not able to develop into something more than an advisory body. It lacks decision-making powers in planning priorities, in budgeting, and in evaluation of achievements and shortfalls. This may explain why many members of the committee, including Pacific Americans, are currently not as active in the committee as they were in the past.

Pacific Americans have also been cooperating with Asian American-controlled research projects such as the Pacific Asian Mental Health Research Project and the Asian Community Mental Health Services project on cultural strengths and stresses of the Asian Pacific American population. Although Pacific Americans are a focal point in many of these projects, the latter have no say in how these projects are directed and how the data are analyzed and disseminated.

The third type of relationship (Type C) is generally a positive one with the most possibilities of success. Another example from the mental

health field will illustrate. Several years ago a few sensitive individuals from the Asian American community worked with a Pacific American organization to develop a proposal to impact mental health services and increase the utilization of mental health and related services by the Pacific American community through the use of trained bilingual paraprofessionals. The project was funded and today, three years later, Asian American professionals and organizations are continuing to assist in the project.

From the standpoint of the Pacific American community, the above is a hopeful trend in that it represents actual opportunities to collaborate without the fear of being submerged by the Asian American group. This trend also represents a challenge to Asian and Pacific American leaders to build the support base necessary for further collaboration on broad issues that are of mutual interest.

Areas of Continuity and Discontinuity: There are a number of striking similarities between Asian and Pacific Americans, and particularly among those who are part of the recent wave of migration to the American mainland. For instance, both groups have been influenced by the same historical forces, they face common patterns of discrimination by members of the host society, share common minority group traits, and exhibit common responses to inequality and discrimination.

But there are also many differences between the two groups in terms of culture, language, values, and socioeconomic factors. These differences cannot be ignored for they have strong implications for program areas such as education. For example, the school drop out rate of Samoan Americans is high in comparison to Asian Americans due perhaps to a unique combination of factors including the host society's lack of recognition of

Samoan Americans, the Samoan population's lower educational expectations, and the latter's reluctance to delay gratification.[22]

This study has provided several opportunities for examining areas of continuity and discontinuity. Public comment on Asian-Pacific relations was solicited at a number of meetings in Los Angeles and San Francisco. At these meetings we asked the following questions: What are areas of common interest with Asians? What are the major areas of differences? What are the prospects for future relations with Asians in various program areas such as Education, Health, Employment, and Social Services? What do Pacific Americans think of the term "Asian Pacific American"? Describe any positive or negative experiences with Asian Americans in the area of programs, services, etc., and especially with the term "Asian Pacific American."

Of the many comments heard, most relate to the Pacific American's dissatisfaction with the term "Asian Pacific American." Pacific Americans favor a change in the term that would exclude individuals with origins in any of the Asian countries within the scope of the definition. The most important rationale for such a change was that continued use of the present term will produce a total loss of Pacific American identity. It was not only the fear (and in many cases the reality) of being submerged by the Asian American community as such that motivates many Pacific Americans to press for a new term and a new definition. It was made quite clear at these meetings that many Pacific Americans see their future in program development and delivery in terms of a separate and distinct political entity, symbolized by the term "Pacific American" or "Pacific Islander." This quest for a separate identity is reflected in the growth in number of Pacific and Pan-Pacific American organizations, some of which have previously been described.

To many Pacific Americans, Asian Americans are a highly educated and sophisticated group significantly overrepresented in organizations which control or attempt to control scarce resources. These organizations, often with the name "Asian Pacific," have no impact nor contact with Pacific Americans. The programs they direct are often geographically inaccessible to the Pacific American community. The vast majority do not employ Pacific American staff and consequently are not able to communicate with potential Pacific American clients, nor do they provide outreach to the Pacific American community. For these and other reasons, Pacific Americans feel that these organizations are not justified in using the word "Pacific" in their titles.

Prospects for Future Relations: Prospects for future relations between Asian and Pacific Americans do not appear good when one considers that in the last few years more and more Pacific Americans are developing a feeling of separateness and are attempting to achieve a distinct political separation from Asian Americans.

For example, recent tensions between Asian and Pacific American media professionals have led to the formation of a separate Pacific American programming consortium. At the 1981 meeting of the National Association of Asian and Pacific American Educators (NAAPE) held in Hawaii, the Hawaiian representatives strongly protested the lack of Pacific American representation in this important organization. Unless more parity is achieved, it is unlikely that Pacific educators will look to NAAPE to solve the educational problems of the Pacific American community. Women, too, have had their differences. For nearly a decade, Asian and Pacific American women have worked with each other to improve the educational, economic, and social self-sufficiency of their people, particularly the women. But in recent years, Pacific American women active in the movement have decided

that the participation of Pacific Americans requires more encouragement and greater opportunities than have heretofore been afforded them in the Asian Pacific Women's Network. In February 1980, three Pacific American women formed the National Island Women's Association. The association has two chapters—one in Hawaii and one in California—which includes representation from the Tongan, Samoan, Hawaiian, and Chamorro communities.

To a considerable extent, Pacific American nationalism represents a stage in the process by which members of an ethnic or racial group attempt to gain a clear sense of identity and control over their own resources and those of the wider society. If the history of the Black Power movement is any indication, this is the process all racial and ethnic groups must go through before they are ready to form a multiracial coalition, or to share weaknesses and strengths with other groups. It is quite clear form the history of ethnic politics in this country that all of the major Asian American groups have gone through the same process.

As previously mentioned, Asian Pacific Americans constitute one of the minority groups eligible to participate in a number of federal, state, and local programs. Furthermore, numerous federal, state, and local decisions, as well as congressional legislative actions, are based on ethnic classifications. It is therefore important to determine the federal government's view regarding usage of the term "Asian Pacific American," whether usage of the term in its present form creates problems and, if so, how best to overcome them.

A survey of government agencies conducted for the purpose of this study indicates that some agencies have not adopted a standard federal definition of the term "Asian Pacific American." The Department of Transportation, for instance, includes Pacific Americans under the term Asian Americans. In an up-dated ruling of March 1980, "Asian American" is

defined as "a person originating in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, the Indian subcontinent, or the Pacific." Quite clearly this can create hardships for Pacific Americans since ethnic classifications and their definitions are used by government agencies to carry out social and funding policy.

Government agency representatives readily admit that ethnic classifications and definitions can create hardships for specific groups who are not differentiated from a larger category (e.g., "Cuban" from "Hispanic" or "Pacific American" from "Asian Pacific American"). They also confirm that existing definitions and classifications can be modified or rescinded without increasing regulatory burdens.

Accordingly, and in line with the wishes of community members surveyed for the purpose of this study, this report recommends a change of the existing racial/ethnic category name from "Asian Pacific American" to two separate names—"Asian American" and "Pacific American." This would express more precisely and accurately the particular contemporary status, needs, and interests of each group. A standard federal definition of "Pacific American" should also be adopted, and it should be limited to people of Micronesian, Melanesian, or Polynesian racial and cultural origins.

A positive response to the above recommendations will alleviate hardships associated with the existing term. Since specific individuals and Pacific American organizations are continuing to be hurt by the existing term, it seems to be clearly contrary to the public interest to further postpone the implementation of this change.

The report also recommends a broadening of the base of support for the upward mobility of all Asian and Pacific Americans through a national conference and the creation of professional associations and integrated

leadership training programs. Such a base will essentially dissolve the boundaries existing between the two groups and will bring individuals and groups closer together. Quite clearly, neither the Pacific American community nor the Asian American community acting alone can create forces for social change.

FOOTNOTES

1. For more information on the pre-contact and post-contact phases see Oliver, Douglas, The Pacific Islands, National History Library, New York, 1961, and Crocombe, R. G., The New South Pacific, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1973.

2. Arntz, Dee, Churches and Ethnic Identity in a Tongan Community in the United States, M.A. Thesis in Anthropology, San Francisco State University, May, 1981.

3. The 1980 Census of Population indicates that Hawaiians, Samoans, and Guamanians living in the United States numbered 167,253, 42,050, and 32,132, respectively, in 1980. Furthermore, there were 23,080 Hawaiians, 20,099 Samoans, and 17,673 Guamanians identified through the 1980 census as residing in California. The above figures are in total disagreement with those provided by the National Office of Samoan Affairs to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1979 (89,100 Samoans in California), and those provided by the Honorable Antonio Won Pat, U.S. Congressman, to the same Commission that year (50,000 Guamanians in California). Although the latter figures are approximations they were collected through independent surveys conducted by both government and non-government agencies. Apparently, the 1980 Bureau of Census has "numerically annihilated" the Pacific Islander population as Dr. Faye Munoz predicted would happen in her presentation to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Civil Rights Issues of Asian and Pacific Americans: Myths and Realities, Washington D.C., 1979.

4. Luce, Pat H., "Asian/Pacific Islanders—Cultural Strengths and Stresses," Samoans in America, State of California, Department of Mental Health, 1981.

5. Ablon, Joan, "The Social Organization of an Urban Samoan Community," in Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 27:1, Spring, 1971.

6. Graves, Ted and Nancy, "Adaptive Strategies in Urban Migration," manuscript, 1974. Unlike the Polynesians, many Chamorros tend to utilize a self-reliant strategy which stresses dependency on one's own resources, those of the nuclear household, or the impersonal institutions of the wider society. While they are group oriented, they are less subject to group norms and pressures than most Polynesians.

7. Kotchek, Lydia, "Adaptive Strategies of an Invisible Ethnic Minority: The Samoan Population of Seattle, Washington," University of Washington Ph.D. dissertation, 1975.

8. Ablon, Joan, "Retention of Cultural Values and Differential Urban Adaptation: Samoans and American Indians in a West Coast City," Social Forces, March,.1971.

9. MKGK, Inc., "Assessment of HEW Services Delivery to American Samoans," Region IX, January 1981.

10. Arntz, op. cit., p. 50-55.

11. Kotchek, op. cit., p. 125.

12. Migrants from Western Samoa, Fiji, and Tonga, who are fewer in number than American Samoans, Hawaiians, and Chamorros, are referred to as immigrants with an alien status in the continental United States.

13. MKGK, Inc., op. cit., p. 181.

14. Luce, Pat H., "The Identity Crisis of Pacific Americans and its Implications for Educational Opportunities," in Civil Rights Issues of Asians and Pacific Americans: Myths and Realities, May, 1979.

15. There is no Department of Pacific Studies anywhere in California although there are relatively large numbers of Pacific Americans enrolled in the State's colleges and universities. Moreover, students from Micronesia, many of whom come from lower-income families, must pay tuition fees that are applicable to foreign students. They are not allowed to work in the United States and are object to deportation if they extend their stay. Personal Communication, Faye Greaf.

16. Ablon, Joan, "The Samoan Funeral in Urban America," in Ethnology, 9:3, 1970.

17. Ablon, Joan, "Retention of Cultural Values and Differential Urban Adaptation: Samoans and American Indians in a West Coast City," in Social Forces, 43:3, March, 1971.

18. One of the largest of such organizations is the National Office of Samoan Affairs (NOSA), incorporated in the State of California in 1976. NOSA's ability to bring together and to respond to the needs of diverse groups of Pacific Americans is central to the bringing about of institutional changes as well as the maintenance of unity among Pacific Americans. NOSA organizes and coordinates the activities of Pacific American groups, provides technical assistance for bidding on government contracts, and serves as a liaison for obtaining contract procurement opportunities. Among the groups working with NOSA are: the National Island Women's Association (NIWA), an association of Samoan, Tongan, Hawaiian, and Chamorro women; Samoan Women for Change; Pacific Islander Educator's Association; Pacific Advisory Council, a core advocacy group of Pacific Americans employed in various professions; National Association of Pacific Island Advocates (NAPIA); as well as numerous church organizations located throughout California.

19. Officially, the term "Asian Pacific American" means U.S. citizens whose origins are from China, Japan, the Philippines, Vietnam, Korea, Samoa, Guam, the U.S. Territories of the Pacific, Northern Marianas, Laos, Cambodia, and Taiwan. Official use of the term, however, is as ambiguous as it was almost ten years ago. In the words of a high ranking government official responsible for reviewing ethnic classifications for the purpose of developing future government policy: "Asian Pacific American" is used interchangeably with "Asian American." It is a term commonly used throughout government to refer to Americans with origins from the Pacific basin or nearby regions."

20. Arntz, op. cit., p. 78.

21. Yu, Elena S. G., and Cypress, Beulah K., "Visits to Physicians by Asian/Pacific Americans," in P/AAMHRC Research Review, Vol. 1, No. 1, January, 1982.

22. Chen, P. N., "Samoans in California," in Social Work, 1973.